/118 cont./

574 628 on the morning of departure, return to their own village. In contrast to this hastily accomplished visiting by small groups or even individuals, there is the migration of whole villages. During the
● 796) great palm-fruit festival, which takes place in February and of which I shall show you a film in a few days, the villages visit each other, which is often done in such a way that the two villages celebrate first in the settlement of the one and the other. The various above-mentioned purposes of this intervillage intercourse
[184] are naturally combined in practice. The trading and visiting trips are responsible for the remarkable cultural unity of the Waika region, and the consciousness of this in the minds of the inhabitants.
574 On the other hand, in many cases they are the occasion and op-
721 portunity for quarrels and warfare; refusal to trade and refusal of
628 a girl lead at least to ill feeling, and, as was reported to us, neutral villages are sometimes invited to the palm-fruit festival solely for the purpose of attacking the men at a favorable moment in order to kill them and keep the women as booty. The language has a special word for this type of hostile act, and the procedure was described to us in detail, so there can be no doubt about its occasional occurrence.

628 In summary, the following may be said about the intervillage
182 relations presented in brief form. The balance between the two tendencies, the binding one and the separative one, both of which -- probably in correspondence to each other -- are expressed in remarkably vivid form, stamps the picture of the political organization in Waika country. The separative forces, in that they protect the detachment of the villages, prevent the formation of alliances on a wider scale, which could lead to political ascendancy, to regional groupings, to divisions -- in any case to a political unit extending beyond the village. Thus, in a cultural sense, these separative forces act indirectly in the same direction as the binding ones: both promote and maintain cultural homogeneity in a large territory. For since the individual villages are too weak to detach themselves from the leveling tensions /Verspannung/ with their neighbors, but, on the other hand, lasting, stable alliances cannot be achieved, political and cultural divisions

/118 cont./

628 are not feasible. The villages remain /119/ dependent on one
182 another in economic, sociological, and political respects, in connection with which the frequent change of partners guarantees the multiplicity of the contacts. Politically independent, with equal rights, and not anchored in any superordinate organization, the villages are the knots in a tightly woven network of active mutual relationships, in part of a positive kind, in part negative; the tension inherent in these relationships represents, on the one hand, the dynamic factor and, on the other hand, the stabilizing factor in the social life of the Waika.

621 Up to now I have used the term village as though it represented a stable unit; if we look at its internal structure, however, it turns out that this local body, the settlement community, very tightly united in itself, again is made up of individual groups which are distinguished from one another on certain occasions.
621 In many cases the festivals of human beings rather than their daily
796 life offer the opportunity to recognize the nature of their social
182 grouping; during festive occasions the community itself is represented and confirms this representation in ceremonial. Among
621 the Waika the ceremonial gift-exchange was the key to under-
431 standing the village structure. That is, after a successful large-scale hunt, in which the men of almost every house take part, it is customary to exchange baskets of roasted meat and a few bananas within the village. This exchange takes place, however, not between the individual houses, but between groups of houses; no baskets of meat are exchanged within the same group of houses, but rather only to and from the houses of the other groups. The village investigated by us was divided, according to the paths of exchange, into three groups of houses, which -- perhaps by chance -- were arranged in strips: on both sides of the oval several houses were combined in a group, and the two houses opposite each other in the middle likewise did not exchange gifts.
621 Now the next step must be to look at the reflection of the
611 sociologically inadequate term "group of houses" on the kinship level: the members of the individual groups of houses are to be characterized, according to their kinship relations, as bilateral and bilocal groups of families.

2: Becher

SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surara
Pakidai

796

/For ceremonies associated with the annual feast of the dead, see category 769./

/23 cont./

411 individual archers. The aforementioned men then shot three arrows into the air successively (one with a large lancet-shaped point, one with a small lancet-shaped point, and one with a bone point), and each one hit the leaf, usually even the center of it. This Indian [114] ability to hit targets even with an indirect shot has already been pointed out by Friederici and substantiated in the sources (107).

107. Friederici, 1907, p. 329.

I also observed, however, that not all the men were equally good archers, although from childhood on, of course, they are constantly handling bow and arrow. My servant Mateus and I each carried a shotgun, 20 caliber, with us, and the use of our guns aroused the interest of only a few men. The aforementioned three Surára and the Pakidái, however, as well as several other warriors, after a very short time, knew how to handle them just as well as bow and arrow.

[114] Koch-Grünberg came to similar conclusions on his journeys, for he writes: "This is not to say that every Indian is an accomplished hunter. Among these people, too, talents and inclinations are unevenly distributed..." (108).

108. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 59.

[422] It should be mentioned further that bows and arrows repre-
[796] sent the most valuable private property of every man, and they
[155] also play a large part in all magical and religious practices (cures of the sick, festivals, dances, etc.). Furthermore, the weapons
[437] are favorite trade items and gifts of honor which the Surára and
[431] Pakidái occasionally receive from the Xiriána or give the latter during visits (see pp. 13, 159/160). A young man who wants to
[584] marry a girl must also first make a bow and five different arrows for his future father-in-law. /24/ If a warrior dies, his weapons
[764] are burned with him, so that he may use them on his journey to the moon and on the moon itself (see p.150).

411 Before the Surára and Pakidái adopted the large reverse flat
173 bow from the Xiriána, I was told, their forefathers were acquainted with only the branch-bow.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

point, we pronounced that magic word 'work'—so potent that in the very act of pilfering, their hands were stayed.

We had brought with us a flask of mercury, for amalgamating metals, which aroused their curiosity—curiosity which turned to absolute amazement when they picked it up and became aware of its inordinate weight. By some dark and labyrinthine thought-processes, no doubt, they deduced that this terrible liquid constituted a bomb, and they drew back in horror shouting '*Bomba Amio*'.[1]

We didn't disillusion them. A little fear and dread disseminated among our porters might not be entirely without point, considering all the uncertain aspects of the journey and the curious make-up of these Indians. Yes, we said, that is the aeroplane bomb, and it would blow to pieces all the Samatari from the Parima, if they dared show themselves on our route. This greatly reassured the Shirians. At first they had been rather scared of meeting with an enemy, but now they could count on this terrifying weapon we had at our disposal which would also increase their own prestige in the eyes of the nomad tribes.

That night, there were some strange noises in the hut, about thirty yards away from our hammocks. Something interesting seemed to be happening, so we put out our candle and, through our mosquito nets, watched a curious scene.

The medicine-man was surrounded by the rest of the Shirians. He was in his usual position for exorcism ceremonies—sitting in his hammock with his legs dangling over either side. The chief's wife had a bowl of water and was dissolving something in it—something she was taking from a cluster of banana leaves in her lap. When she had put in enough, she passed the bowl to her husband, who held it firmly, slightly raised. Then he waited. Suddenly, on an unexpectedly powerful note, a chant came from the medicine-man. Then the chief drank long draughts out of the bowl, came down from his hammock, and began to walk with a rhythmic, solemn step, round the fire. All the men then drank in turn: then the women. Then the babies at their breasts were made to touch the bowl with their lips. Now they were all marching behind the chief, with rapid, tiny steps that covered very little ground, while the medicine-man himself jumped from his hammock and brought up the rear.

We were watching the Drinking of the Ashes—a ceremony symbolic of

[1] Their rendering of the Spanish 'avion' (aeroplane bomb).

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

cannibalism. When someone dies in battle, or through some other violence—when he dies, that is, in the full prime of manhood—the body is cremated on a pyre and the ashes scrupulously gathered. Mixing these to a paste with water, they make a block which is wrapped in banana leaves and kept for the ceremony of the Drinking, by which they believe that the dead man's strength can enter their own bodies. Such ceremonies generally take place at large assemblies, people from neighbouring tribes also being present, and the festivities may last several days. Our Indians, however, wanting to assure a good augury for the voyage they were about to undertake with us, had limited themselves to a shortened version of the usual ceremony, since in these particular circumstances there was neither the time nor the opportunity for more.

II

In three little canoes, two of them the property of Frenario's people, we went down the Yevarehuri, making for the point where it is joined by a slightly smaller, darker stream flowing from the south—the Matahuri. It had been raining ceaselessly for days and the rivers were overflowing their banks, which made it difficult to find a camping-place for the night.

On the second day we had two fair-sized falls to negotiate. The third day's paddling brought us to the Marahuri, but we left it to the right of us, its mouth being apparently quite blocked by fallen trees, and entered a smaller stream just to the south of it, which offered quiet water and a clearly defined course between the giant vegetation of both banks. The Shirians told us that this new waterway was called the Toroli—that is, the Turtle—and that we had only to go up to the source to find the track crossing the cordillera which led to the north side of the Upper Parima river.

Our crew was hardly sufficient and progress was exasperatingly slow. Happily, there was plenty of game. Guans and curassow were plentiful, as well as monkeys and sloths—the Indians' favourite dish.

Our head man was a real lead-swinger. From the first day onwards he complained of a pain in his foot which made him draw the line at heavy work. Under the drenching rains that fell with every interminable afternoon, he would sit in the middle of the canoe, and also in the middle of the bananas we were carrying, holding a palm frond over his head. If we urged him to do

segments or fibres from the seje palm leaf are worn through the ear lobes. Small sticks are inserted in the lip and nasal peforations, but, as the women get older, these are discarded. Older women wear only single strings around the wrists, ankles, knees, and upper torso, or, like the children, nothing at all.

Other than the social feasts held during the dry season, ceremonies are limited to female puberty rites, purification rites for men who have killed other men in raids, a vision-quest rite to induct shamans, and mortuary feasts during which the pulverized bones of the dead are consumed in a soup made from boiled ripe plantains.

The puberty rite for females and the purification rite for killers are almost identical. The initiate is confined to quarters that are covered over with a specific kind of palm leaf, the cotton garments and cotton possessions belonging to the initiate are discarded and replaced with new ones, special sticks are used to scratch the body and to pick up food, and straws are used to drink water. The shedding of blood, of considerable mythological importance to the Yanomamö in validating their ferocity and warfare, is ceremonially expressed in two of five rites.

The induction of shamans involves drug-taking, fasting and meditation. The candidate is forbidden to walk anywhere except on a set number of paths in and around the village, and he is distinguished in the village by a staff to

[Namowei-tedi Group]

174 Several marriage alliances were developing between the Namowei-tedi and one of the Shamatari villages (Konabuma-tedi) when the war with Sibarariwë's group started, but these eventually broke down before any women were actually exchanged.

The second important event was the secession of a section of the Namowei-tedi from the main group and the development of hostilities between these cognate villages.

The third event, occurring somewhat later, was the initiation of hostilities between one of the Namowei-tedi sections (Patanowë-tedi) and villages to its north; this war is being conducted vigorously at the present time, and has dictated the movements of the Patanowë-tedi from the time it began until now.

In order, the particulars of these three events are, briefly: (1) The Namowei-tedi were on friendly terms with the Shamatari villages to their south and southeast for a number of years after they moved to Patanowë-tëka. However, several Namowei-tedi died in an epidemic (probably malaria) about 1940, and survivors attributed the deaths to the Shamatari, accusing them of practicing harmful magic against them. Shortly after the deaths occurred, a young man called Ruwahiwë, Sibarariwë's older brother, visited the Namowei-tedi. Mamikininiwë, who now lives in Monou-tedi, murdered Ruwahiwë with an axe while he rested in a hammock, thereby avenging the deaths of the people who died in the epidemic.

Shortly after Ruwahiwë was murdered, his village began mounting raids against the Namowei-tedi, but succeeded